2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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few restrictions are placed

upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2–5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them. Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the riverside. During his fifth year when he is permitted to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit, the incidence of skin disease decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

Children are wanted and beloved. As an example of permissiveness, they are allowed to indulge in cookies, candies, sugar and soft drinks, but conversely an element of teasing often enters the picture. To illustrate, a small child will be offered a goody, which, when he reaches for it, will be snatched away. Reactions to this affront vary: some children cry; others just sit looking forlorn. The adults seem to enjoy this teasing. An impressive example of contrastive behavior presented itself one day as a group of Indian women and their children came to visit us. Everyone was seated on the floor in a circle, and the conversation was desultory. Finally, a woman took a piece of candy and handed it to my son who was sitting on his mother's lap. As he reached out eagerly for the tidbit, the woman brought her hand back. At this everyone laughed, but the child

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Bathing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their skirts when they are waist deep in the river. Bathing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

by the children.

Boys are now beginning to be sent to school when they reach seven or eight years of age. The school is located up the Río Camerones at Encanto which, in 1960, comprised six houses with a shifting population of about forty. Children from up the river stay with relatives during the school year and go home on weekends and school holidays. This is a most unusual situation, since prior to the introduction of the school, Cayapa children had very little interaction with non-household children, and now new interaction patterns are developing. Education is prized and attendance is regular. Girls remain at home and attend to their household chores. Parents prefer not to send girls to school, despite the urging of the teacher, because "they will write love letters" and, more importantly, they are needed to take care of younger siblings while the parents are out working. Girls begin very early to learn to take care of children, to sweep, to carry water, and to cook. They tend to be quite responsible while taking care of younger siblings, but sometimes they are inclined to be rough. If for example, the

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child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

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Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

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ties are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together.

Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children.

While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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Given his peculiarly harsh, intense and very early training in sphincter control, the Cayapa's autonomous motivation, or competence, is derived in no small degree from the little drama that is enacted daily on the causeway behind the cooking area. This interpretation of the rigorous training, however, does not refute the importance of the motility urge, but enhances it. As a rule, the child undergoes the severe training in sphincter control and perhaps weaning, at the same time that he is frustrated in his exploratory forays outside the house, precisely when he is in the stage of heightened motility. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. As a result, he is not permitted to master, integrate and test the world outside his home. He is confined within the house except for family movements for work-visits with relations or to *fiestas* (where he is still confined within the limits of the house). This confinement lasts

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. [Prior to this time the child may have been extremely healthy.] During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on canoe tripe he is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

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The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayapa is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

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